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the North and the South is a sign of our solidarity with the DPRK and encourages the efforts aimed at peacefully reuniting the people of Korea.

The other issue that needs similar attention is the issue of the Republic of Cyprus. In this respect, our movement, in the spirit of our earlier stand, should provide the necessary support for a positive conclusion to the current dialogue between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, which is underway under UN auspices. Many people are also being killed as a result of the war between Iran and Iraq. A lot of property has also been destroyed. International laws that were supposed to be implemented in time of war have been violated. In general, the war is degenerating from one tragic situation to another. Hence, our movement should make great efforts to look for solutions to this tragic war.

Comrade chairman, honorable leaders, respected delegates and comrades. In addition to the numerous problems facing our world today, imperialism has not refrained from attempting to control the world in every way. This has become a crucial issue now more than ever before. This is clear from imperialism's desire to gain the upper hand in nuclear warfare, to extend the arms race into space and in its attempt to undermine the basis for international cooperation and multilateralism. As we know, the nonaligned countries have contributed toward strengthening and expanding the foundations of multilateralism. This has been possible through open dialogue and democratic decisions made at our own forums, and by ensuring that arms reduction and development questions receive international attention.

Some parties who think that their interests are affected by this strengthening of international democracy are trying to retard organizations which they do not control. The United Nations has become the target for their negative mission. The United States is weakening the organization financially because it cannot control the organization politically. Even though international relations could not be subjected to political dictatorship, these dangerous attempts against the United Nations and multilateralism are not to be regarded lightly. The basic objective of this ploy is to exploit member-states individually, to divide them according to their interests, and attack some countries by isolating them. In general, it is aimed at destroying international organizations which can put moral and legal pressure on international forums and on systems of international relations and laws which are in force today. Hence, our meeting is expected to give the coordinated reply of the nonaligned states that would enable us to contain this danger.

Finally, I would like to remind you that we should reaffirm our loyalty to the basic principles and objectives of our movement which have served as pillars for our unity and cooperation and we should make concerted efforts for their implementation. At a time when the world is faced with crucial and complex issues, our movement should further strengthen joint efforts against imperialism, to dismantle colonialism, for world peace and security, disarmament, and for the realization of a new world economic order.

Comrade chairman, I conclude my speech by wishing you success in carrying out the great responsibility entrusted to you as chairman of our movement for the next 3 years. I assure you that

revolutionary Ethiopia will always stand by you in all your efforts. Thank you.

Leaders Address Harare Summit Meeting 4 Sep

Al-Qadhdhafi Speech

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[Speech by Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi at the eighth Non-aligned Movement summit conference in Harare on 4 September — recorded]

[Text] In the name of God. Mr Chairman and brother colleagues. Let me begin by saluting Mugabe and the people of Zimbabwe for the great hospitality and abounding preparations they have provided for this conference, despite the fact that this country only recently became independent. I wish to express my admiration for these facilities and hospitality. I wish also to express my happiness at being in the town of Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, which used to be called Salisbury, the capital of northern [as heard] Rhodesia.

Even now, the world still hears the name of Israel, which will one day become Palestine, as it was before, because Israel is an imperialist phenomenon that emerged following World War II, just as northern Rhodesia, southern Rhodesia and South Africa were phenomena resulting from the European colonization of the African Continent.

I have come, brothers, basically to salute the fraternal people of Zimbabwe and to stand on the side of my brother struggler, Robert Mugabe. I have come to declare my happiness at the fact that the joint struggle has borne fruit. Thousands of the strugglers of the ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union] and ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] parties — I recognized many of them — had been in Libya where they received training on fighting. These fighters, whom we have trained in their second country, Libya, have lived up to our expectations and are worthy of being trained and armed. They have liberated this precious part of Africa. I have come to congratulate these fighters who received training in their second country, Libya, and to congratulate the people of Zimbabwe and the struggler Robert Mugabe. This, I say, provides a lesson: However long it lasts and whatever name it takes, imperialism is bound to end.

I have also come to meet with the fighters of South Africa, headed by the living, fighting forces of South Africa, the ANC [African National Congress] movement. I succeeded in meeting with them, and together we drew plans yesterday to escalate the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

I have also come to place the capabilities of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah at the disposal of our African people in South Africa. Libya opens all its camps before the fighters of South Africa and opens its arms arsenal to arm these fighters and the revolutionary masses in South Africa, who are facing the racist imperialist tyranny without weapons.

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Despite the continuous threats to which it is being exposed from a superpower, Libya will not retract an inch from defending the cause of freedom everywhere in the world. The constant U.S. threat does not make Libya deviate from this line. It resists it with full courage. It declares from this rostrum that, as I have already said, it opens its camps and arsenals for the freedom fighters in South Africa and South-West Africa — Namibia — the fighters of Palestine, and the revolutionaries of Central and South America. [chants]

Even now, three U.S. aircraft carriers and over 150 ships with tens of thousands of U.S. troops are anchored off the Libyan shore. [chants]

(?In the name) of Libya and the revolutionaries, this is the battle of liberation, and everything in the world must be liberated, so that emancipation will be realized for all peoples of the world, and the abominable shadow of imperialism will fade away.

I have come to meet with Mugabe and the people of Mugabe, and the people of South Africa to boost the morale of the fighters of South Africa and of the detained free men, headed by Nelson Mandela, and to declare from this platform the placing of my country's material and morale capabilities at the disposal of the forces of liberation in the world, particularly in South Africa and Latin America.

I have come to meet with my fellow fighters, such as Castro and Ortega, as well as with the leaders of the Frontline States in Africa. In fact, I have come essentially for this reason.

As to the Nonaligned Movement, I have not come for its sake. This is because I do not believe there is any use for this movement. This is because I am confident that a number of those sitting with us here are neither on the side of their peoples nor on the side of freedom.

I told you at Colombo [Nonaligned Movement summit conference] that I would expose this movement at its next conference. The time has now come to do so. We could deceive our peoples and ourselves by saying that all members of the movement are nonaligned or work against imperialism. There are some in this hall who are genuine agents and filthy spies of imperialism and racist Zionism. He who recognizes Israel is an enemy of the movement, an enemy of the cause of freedom, and an enemy of the cause of liberation. [applause]

I have not come to disgrace myself before the eyes of the world revolutionaries by sitting alongside the president of Zaire, or the president of the Cameroon, or the president of the Ivory Coast. It does not befit a revolutionary like me to sit with such traitors and spies who recognize Israel. What if we were to recognize racism in South Africa? Would it be acceptable for any one of us to recognize racism in South Africa? Would it be acceptable if the Arabs were to recognize racism in South Africa, because someone has recognized Israel?

We would never recognize racism in South Africa. The struggle against racism in South Africa is part of our existence and our life. Nothing will dissuade us from this, not even the traitors who recognized Israel. What is the difference between South Africa

and Israel? Israel and South Africa are two paws of the U.S. cat [words indistinct]. They are the pivots on which imperialism will rely in Africa and the Middle East. South Africa is a leg of filthy America, and Israel is its other. (?What is the meaning) of fighting against South Africa and then recognizing Israel?

It is better for my country to withdraw from this organization if it includes spies and traitors who recognize racism. I will submit this matter to my people through their basic congresses. [Words indistinct] the people's congresses and people's committees, because Libya's system is a jamahiri system, based on the authority of the people. Libya has reached the ultimate stages of democracy. It has already gone beyond the stage of republics and has entered the stage of jamhiriyyah. I will submit to the masses of the people's congresses in Libya the question of withdrawal from the movement because it has lost all justification for its existence.

When my country was exposed to the barbaric, bestial attack, and when my family and house were exposed to murder at the hands of the biggest power, what did this movement do?

I am not speaking about the statements which were issued, nor about the attitude of some members. But I am speaking about the military and material aspects. When on the eve of 14 April, — on the eve of the U.S. raid on my country — we destroyed the island of Lampedusa, south of Italy, where there is a telecommunications station used by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, I received ultimatums from all the West European states saying that they are in solidarity in defending each other, and that any aggression on any state shall be regarded as an aggression on all of them. If a war breaks out between Libya and Italy, all the states of Western Europe will participate in this war against Libya; it does not matter whether Libya is a small state while we are major powers, this is a fact. You should know that any aggression on any European state will be answered by (?Reagan) [words indistinct]. That was at a time when we were engaged in fighting against the United States, with whom both Egypt and Israel are in alliance. [Word indistinct] an aggression on Nicaragua, Libya, and Zimbabwe, the aggressor hears that there are 50 or 100 states which will participate in the fighting. Unless this comes true, what is the value of [passage indistinct]. Is it logical to regard Egypt as a state fighting with us for the sake of freedom? [Words indistinct] Israel, and participates in the aggression with the United States against Libya, and which permits the passage of a nuclear aircraft carrier heading toward Libyan shores? [Word indistinct] the international trick it is practicing?

I do not (?allow) myself to mislead the masses and the peoples of the peaceful world, which you call the Third World. I do not believe in First, Second, or Third World — there is a liberation camp and an imperialist camp. I promise you from this rostrum that from now on I will, with all my capabilities, divide this world into two camps — the liberation camp and the imperialist camp. [applause and cheers — "Jamahiriyyah, jamahiriyyah, the future of all mankind"] When we (?advocate) that the world should be divided into two camps, some may think that we are (?advocating) that the liberation forces should join the Warsaw Pact, while the reactionary group should join NATO. I do not mean this. The reactionary group [word indistinct] is in the service of NATO

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even now, and there is no need for it to declare that it is joining NATO.

The biggest danger to this movement — to the question of liberation — lies in the fact that this group is among us here in this hall. Can we regard Egypt as a state which (?fights for) the question of liberation while it gives its entire territory to the United States for training? On the whole, the training for the U.S. aggression on Libya was done in Egypt. Even at this very hour, training is taking place by way of 150 U.S. warships and 3 aircraft carriers, with Egyptian forces, for a period of 1 month from the beginning of this month; sea-landing, airborne-landing, and heavy equipment drops for the purpose of occupying a beach. This means that these exercises taking place in Egypt will be put into operation on Libyan beaches. [passage indistinct].

What is the meaning of this gathering? The agents of imperialism — the reactionaries — are primarily in the service of their masters, the colonialists. But the liberation forces at this hall, at this gathering, and in this movement (?should) sever their links with the dirty forces [words indistinct] Egypt, Zaire, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, and the rest of the lackeys, traitors, and spies, the enemies of their own peoples, the enemies of the question of liberation. Can I attend any gathering in which these spies are present? [Words indistinct] those strugglers; [Words indistinct] Palestine, the fighters of Central and Latin America, and the fighters of Africa, whom you gather in the same hall with the agents of the United States and racism?

[Words indistinct] but I have come here to declare that I have nothing to do with this gathering, which has spies among those who are present. It is inevitable that the liberation forces organize themselves into one international front to fight against the common enemy. As I have told you, there are some who may think that this means joining the Warsaw Pact. I will be very pleased [words indistinct]. I am speaking about the (?split) and the division [words indistinct]. An international antiimperialist front. The Warsaw camp (?shall protect) this front [words indistinct] this front. The socialist states need the liberation forces to be in an alliance with them [word indistinct] the struggle against imperialism. [Words indistinct] a common enemy of our peoples.

We too, as a small struggling people (?threatened) by imperialism and racism, need the force of the socialist bloc. Here, therefore, the efforts of smaller peoples outside the Warsaw Pact should be combined with those of the Warsaw Pact. (?This does not mean, however, that we should join the Warsaw Pact) but merely ally ourselves with it in a united antiimperialist front.

What did you do when the United States laid mines in Nicaragua's harbors? What did the movement do? [Words indistinct]? When a small country, like Nicaragua, is threatened with invasion, what would you do? Do you send a cable of support to Ortega [words indistinct]? Grenada's invasion is another example. (?How can a colony of the United States be a member of the Nonaligned Movement) [words indistinct]? What did you do when Grenada was invaded? You do not have an army to defend Grenada. This means, therefore, that our turn to be invaded will also come. What did you do when Grenada was the subject of U.S. aggression? [words indistinct] It was a forceful and a

dangerous threat to the movement, yet what did the movement do about it?

Furthermore, the annihilation of the people of South Africa is being carried out; there are monsters therein, the whites, who are eating the flesh of the blacks!! What has the movement done about it? At the end of this meeting we will, of course, make a resolution, which I think will be a resolution supporting the struggle of the people of Namibia. The United States today gives South Africa arms and money [word indistinct] and Britain gives it material and moral support [words indistinct] if you want this movement to last. All right, Britain gave its bases and islands to the United States for it to use them to hit my house. Thereby, (?there is only a real unity in this movement) if one of you would give a part of his country to my forces so they could strike against [word indistinct] and imperialist forces. Will Morocco give me Tangier so I can hit (?the base) of Gibraltar [words indistinct]? Italy has given the whole of one its islands to the United States [words indistinct] between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp, at equal distances from them both. What did the Non-aligned Movement do for disarmament? What will you do for world peace? Your voice is unheard before the giants. The ones who can decide are the major powers. When you wrote, with your own blood, with golden ink, statements asking for the preservation of peace and nuclear disarmament, they threw them in the trash can. Who has the power? I said India can be a nonaligned state because it arrived at the secret of the atomic bomb, and because it has a population amounting to one-eighth of the world's population. It is difficult for the United States or any other state to think that swallowing up India is like swallowing up Grenada. China, which possesses the nuclear bomb and whose population is a quarter of the world population, can be a neutral state because it is difficult to be swallowed up [words indistinct]. [Sentence indistinct]. Neutral. How? [Words indistinct] when Hitler passed through Belgium and Luxembourg in World War II without permission, in order to encircle France. He occupied France. All these midget states which are here in this hall will tomorrow have the United States passing through them [words indistinct][applause]. What have we benefitted from this neutrality? On the contrary, if a conflict breaks out between the big powers, [words indistinct] in the war between our states — we members of this group. [sentence indistinct].

The Gulf War has been going on for 6 years: Terrible; great losses; great number of victims. I am not trying here to find out who is the aggressor and who is the victim of the aggression. This is not [word indistinct] the place for it. But this movement has not been able to stop this war between two member-states of the movement. What is the value of this movement if it cannot stop the fighting between two members? What is the value of this movement if it fails to fight in defense of one of its members when it is [words indistinct] and hit? [Words indistinct] imperialism can do enough to gain membership of this movement. All the French-speaking states which annually meet under the chairmanship of France are not independent states and are a fifth column inside this movement. (?I do not regard) these as sovereign states. It is a shame for Africa that there should be a Francophonic grouping. France is a colonialist state which has created all problems for the Africans. [words indistinct] the states which used to be British colonies are now members of an organization called the Com-

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monwealth [in English]. The word Commonwealth is very embarrassing.

It means the common wealth of Britain. It means that you are among the properties of Britain. [laughter in the hall] Yes, it is actually funny. It is something shameful. [Words indistinct] is also shameful. Why Francophonic? What is Franco-African; why is it Franco-African? [passages indistinct]. They say Libya interferes in Chad. As for France, from beyond the seas, it does not interfere in Chad. [sentence indistinct].

Brothers, we are facing a new stage. Expect that military colonialism will return to our [word indistinct] land. The vanguard of this colonialism are here. A big power dares and occupies a small state whose population is 100,000 such as Grenada, and this means new colonialism. It is not a settlement colonialism alone. It is a military colonialism. Two states — the United States and Great Britain — are in alliance in order to use the latest strategic weapons to strike at a small state, like Libya; this means that we are at the beginning of a new era — the era of the new military colonialism. If a superpower such as the United States dares to mine the harbors of a small state like Nicaragua because it is living a revolution. What is Nicaragua's guilt, brothers, to be exposed to this American revenge? Is Nicaragua accused of blowing up the night club which was frequented by U.S. soldiers in Berlin? Or was it accused of the Vienna and Rome operations? It was not accused of these. Therefore, why is the U.S. fighting Nicaragua? The United States said it is because Nicaragua is carrying out operations against U.S. soldiers. All right, Nicaragua was not accused of this and they accuse us specifically of blowing up the night club in Berlin, without any evidence. [passage indistinct]. All right, did Nicaragua blow up the Berlin night club? Did Grenada blow up the Berlin night club? Around Cuba there has been a blockade for 17 years. Was Cuba accused of blowing up the Berlin night club? The Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian peoples — what is their guilt? Had we crossed the sea and the ocean and invaded these [word indistinct] states? Have we established [word indistinct] colonies in the [word indistinct] world and expelled them? Did we cross the sea and the ocean and invade these Atlantic countries? Did we produce atomic weapons and threaten peace or carry out nuclear tests? We only want to be secure in our own homes; we want only to live as free men in our homelands. They want to enslave us. We are facing a very backward colonialist mind. We are facing a clear [words indistinct] that has not yet reached the stage of civilization. It is unfortunate that this reactionary, backward, imperialist mentality to possess everything on earth because of its economy [word indistinct]. Therefore, I say to you brothers there is no room for a discussion, dialogue, or negotiation between us and that criminal force.

They murder children — a baby girl who was 16 months old; a year and one-half [words indistinct] we are accused of terrorism. Thirty three U.S. and British aircraft (?were sent) to Libya, and [words indistinct] bombers. The Nonaligned Movement did not defend us but God defended us because some of these aircraft broke down on their way to Libya so that only one squadron of the bombers reached my home. Only one squadron of fighter aircraft. [applause] They were supplied with fuel by 30 Boeing 707 aircraft that took off from bases in Britain. There were 30 other fighter planes accompanying them and attacking Benghazi

from the U.S. fleet. Some 80 interceptor aircraft from the fleet. Five jamming aircraft that are used for the first time left a U.S. state to come to the Mediterranean to jam Libya's great air defense system. [words indistinct] the year of the elephant [an allusion to an attempt to attack Mecca in 570 A.D. mentioned in the Koran]. [sentence indistinct] Most of the leaders of the world met with me there [words indistinct]. They attacked with a huge bomber [words indistinct], and laser-guided bombs especially made to (?destroy) Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, made in the month of February 1986. The attack was in April. They were made in the United States and were transported to Britain on that day. [words indistinct]

When we hit the island of Lampedusa in order to destroy the telecommunications station, Europe at once sent a warning [words indistinct] Italy. What has the Nonaligned Movement done in the face of this mad bullying? [Words indistinct] the Green forces will liberate them. In that case [words indistinct] to defend themselves only. We do not want to attack Britain or the United States. Brothers, because of the bitter reality, deep faith, and strong will to preserve our independence, it is imperative to establish an international front for collective defense, with its own military, economic, and political power. If the great powers are not concerned about world peace then let world peace go to hell. Who made us the protectors of world peace? Their desparate attempts [words indistinct] the maximum of what we have to do is to establish a collective defense for ourselves.

They want to kill me not because I am a bad person: They want to kill the cause of freedom. They do not want anyone to come to this platform and say these words. They wanted to stop me from reaching this platform so that I would not expose this situation and so as not to call for a serious awakening that destroys their ambitions. They are now happy with the Nonaligned Movement. It is an international toy. There are more than 100 states, among which there is a fertile ground for agents and spies such as Sese Seko Mobuto, Houphouet-Boigny, and such as those of the Cameroon and Egypt and these traitors. It is a fertile ground for planting such agents in the Nonaligned Movement. It is also an outlet for wars and aggression in order that our [words indistinct] we export wars and crises, [words indistinct], let us fight in Chad, let us fight in the Gulf. The Gulf war is an imperialist plot so that Iraq will be destroyed, so that it will not participate in the Palestinian revolution, and so that the Iranian revolution will be destroyed so that (?they will not turn toward) the Zionist [word indistinct].

The United States is afraid of its total collapse at the hands of the revolutionaries in Iran. It has lost a very important sphere of influence from where it used to encircle the Soviet Union. It is afraid of the appearance of an Arab military power in Iraq. It is the one who plotted these schemes, and who wants to destroy the Iraqi power and the Iranian revolution.

This is an imperialist conspiracy; as long as imperialism exists, you are unable to [words indistinct] I say that this confrontation and rampage does not want to kill Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi alone, but [words indistinct]. The world must look with apprehension toward imperialism. I have not and I shall not retreat from a brave confrontation against the United States, its allies, and agents even inside this organization. [Female voices chant: O

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Reagan, killer of children, the defeat of my people is impossible] Hence I declared on 1 September in Tripoli that I am ready, if the American arrogance continued, which has not come across a deterrent from anyone, to leave Libya and declare the establishment of an international army [word indistinct], its soldiers in all the continents of the world so that the ground will burn under the feet of America [words indistinct] and I repeat this warning from this rostrum before you. [applause] I am ready to leave Libya so that I may not be considered a head of state, and I shall call for the formation of an army consisting of tens of thousands, and the aircraft carriers which strike at our towns and children will be unable to strike at the men of this army, and the intercontinental missiles with which the United States is threatening my country with them will be unable to hit any fighting member [words indistinct] and with this army we can destroy this new Nazi empire and this great satan — as the brothers in Iran call it — and with this army we can defeat it. And I know that the number of this army will grow day by day because all the peoples of the earth hate this devil. All the peoples of the world sense the danger. The United States is officially terrorizing all the peoples of the earth with aircraft carriers. You have all heard that it is threatening to strike at my country with intercontinental cruise missiles. This is a superpower which can [words indistinct] and can use them, but the announcement about them in itself, and their use, indicates another dangerous policy — the policy of officially terrorizing the world. We reject this terrorism and we shall fight the United States. Yes, we shall fight it. Maybe we shall not fight it face-to-face because we have no [words indistinct] but fight it with popular resistance and this arrogance shall be destroyed by the international resistance.

Napoleon who stormed everywhere in Europe, and who achieved nothing but shame (?in his corpse) [words indistinct] could not defeat them with his army. Their will was broken when they were faced with the popular resistance on the hills of Spain. Hitler who wanted to make [word indistinct] a vital zone, similar to what the rabid dog of Israel, Reagan, wants, declared all [word indistinct] as a vital zone for the United States. Hitler's end was accomplished by the hands of the human race, the popular liberation war in eastern Europe. The war of man was the virus which penetrated that giant body, which collapsed at the end. The last military strikes against Hitler were merely a complement for a campaign carried out by popular freedom forces - the forces of the partisans in Eastern Europe. The popular resistance, the partisan forces, and the war of the fedayeen are the ones to which we will resort at the end in order to crush the American empire.

The United States wants to create a psychological defeat for us and to terrorize us, then to advance because we would be demoralized and unable to resist it, but we are the first person to be exposed to an U.S. aggression [words indistinct]. I declare that this scheme has failed, because I am here, and I am not afraid and I am not intimidated, and I am not [words indistinct], and I have not accepted that the United States is undefeatable.

On that night we shot down more than 10 aircraft; I think about 14 and one [words indistinct]. I announced in those days that all the lights should not be off in all the Libyan cities on the Mediterranean, and that the Libyan people should sing, dance, and fight, in order to prove to the United States that the psychological defeat cannot be achieved. This is what happened. All the

Libyans in the Libyan cities put the lights on, and the masses of the Libyan people went to the streets singing and dancing with the weapons in their hands. I would like to declare here that I have formed a Libyan army composed of 1 million combatants of the Libyan people, men and women. They occupy all the cities of the littoral. We have written on large banners facing toward the Mediterranean: We are awaiting you; so are the fish. [laughter is heard followed by applause]. Libya's psychological defeat at least would inflict damage on the morale of all fighting forces in the world. [Words indistinct] the morale of all nations. If Lebanon were invaded, if Lebanon's will collapse, then we too would have suffered a psychological defeat. If Cuba lost [words indistinct] Zimbabwe [words indistinct] one enemy, with the revolutionaries of South Africa. [Words indistinct] the revolutionaries of South Africa have laid down all plans so that they can have (?fighting). [applause followed by anti-U.S. slogans in Arabic]

Therefore, brothers, any group [passage indistinct] recruiting each other against imperialism. Geographically, (?this is not possible). [Passage indistinct] the meaning of the word neutrality. Where is the neutrality? [words indistinct]. We are not neutral. We are [word indistinct] against imperialism, racism, and Zionism. Therefore, naturally we have no alternative but to create a front which is not affected by any religious, national, or geographic factors. [Words indistinct] the joint struggle against [words indistinct]. If there is anyone among you who is crying over the Nonaligned Movement while it is on its deathbed, and who is of the opinion that it should continue he should propose here at this meeting — whether he is an individual or a group of esteemed presidents — a new [word indistinct] which can transform this movement into a movement having full solidarity in which we all defend each other against any attack on any member-state of the movement, and it shall be regarded as an attack on all member-states who will begin fighting. The first condition when this situation arises is that you should sever your political relations with the United States [words indistinct]. He who wants to keep this movement alive should propose to us the draft of the collective defense pact. You should sever your relations with Britain which was transformed by the United States into a fixed aircraft carrier, Britain which is in an alliance with the racists in South Africa.

Today all the European countries [word indistinct] unanimously agreed on something without the United States: the application of more severe sanctions against the Great Libyan Jamahiriyyah. [Words indistinct] punishing Libya with more severe sanctions, apart from the [word indistinct] and economic [word indistinct] sanctions. [sentence indistinct]. They want us to abandon the struggle, but we will not abandon it. [sentence indistinct]. We do not blow up a nightclub or an aircraft. We blew up the island of Lampedusa — the telecommunications station, and we declared our responsibility for that. We shot down more than 15 U.S. aircraft, and we have shown their remnants and the bodies of their pilots on the screen before the whole world. But if [word indistinct] reached the level of [word indistinct] of the necessity to confront this empire to defend the whole human race [words indistinct] we will carry out all the [word indistinct] terroristic operations. I declare that the Libyan army [word indistinct], and will violate all their targets, because they violated all our land,

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[word indistinct] and all what we hold sacred and all our resources.

Anyone who wants to save this movement must submit at the end of this meeting a proposal for collective defense. By this we ensure that we have established this, and we do not leave this place unless we sever our economic and political relations with the United States and Britain and with the Israelis and South Africa.

I told you that Western Europe will meet these days because received an envoy from rabid dog of Israel, Reagan [words indistinct]. Western Europe will meet to apply more severe sanctions against Libya. What does this movement do? What would I say to the Libyan people when I go back from this meeting? New sanctions will be declared, and now there are an economic blockade and a military blockade and state terrorism against Libya. The Libyan people would say to me: What did you bring back with you from this movement, of which we are a member? (Are they going to apply) for a blockade against the United States similar to the blockade they imposed on us? Will they defend with us? Are they going to defend Nicaragua? Will they fight with the South Africans? Will they fight with the Palestinians? If there are positive answers, then I would [word indistinct] this movement, and I would defend this movement [words indistinct]. But if there are no answers, then it would be a waste of time and [word indistinct], and unreasonable to continue in this movement.

I appreciate the great heroes who met and established this movement, but that was a stage which differs from this stage. We appreciate and respect Nehru, Al-Nasir, Sukarno, Nkrumah, and Tito. This is a great tradition [words indistinct]. The relation between Khrushchev and Tito [words indistinct] the regimes in Yugoslavia and [word indistinct]. [Words indistinct] Al-Nasir, [name indistinct] and Nkrumah [words indistinct].

Thus, brothers at the end of my visit to this fraternal country with whom I fought side by side — Zimbabwe — and it gained its independence and became [words indistinct] the Arabic language, and the Swahili [words indistinct] which used to be known as Salisbury [word indistinct] in order to raise the morale of the fighters of South Africa [words indistinct]. I have had the opportunity to stand for a few minutes on this rostrum to reaffirm to you these facts [words indistinct] at this conference, at least. Otherwise, the next conference which you will be holding in Libya which I will [words indistinct] a ministerial council conference of this movement. North Korea [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] unless you say that you have come as friends and brothers [words indistinct] you are welcome. [Words indistinct] from this rostrum then it is a waste of time, and I promise you that unless at the end of this conference something worthwhile happens which can protect the independence of our state [words indistinct] and we become hostile to the enemies of our states, and all spies and agents of racism, Zionism are expelled such as Egypt, Zaire, Cameroon, and the Ivory Coast, and those states which have recognized racism and Zionism in southern Africa and Israel, and the states which have French and U.S. military bases [words indistinct] harmful to our freedom and future, then I will leave here while saying farewell to this funny movement, farewell to these international (?individuals) and farewell to this international (words indistinct) and farewell to this political

falsification (?at the highest level) and will raise the slogan: The world consists of two camps — the camp of liberation and the camp of imperialism, and there is no place for the neutrals and the nonneutrals; we are nonneutrals and totally aligned according to these principles. Brother Mugabe, excuse me because I have spoken too long; the reason is that [words indistinct] not normal [words indistinct]. I will withdraw all forces which you believe support this movement so that they can join the camp which I will set up. Forward, and the revolutionary struggle continues, and let struggle be everywhere so that the people [words indistinct] the masses. Down with imperialism. Down with injustice. [Words indistinct] and long live peace [slogans and applause]

'Arafat Speech

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["Text" of speech delivered by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat at the eighth nonaligned summit conference in Harare, Zimbabwe on 4 September — read by announcer]

[Text] His excellency brother Comrade Robert Mugabe, chairman of the nonaligned conference; brother presidents and leaders; brother heads of the delegations, and brother guests, revolutionary greetings.

I am delighted today to stand before the leaders of the struggling nations and at this place in particular, in this struggling country Zimbabwe in which the conference of our movement, the Non-aligned Movement, is being held. I am delighted to convey greetings and heartfelt congratulations to brother chairman and struggler Robert Mugabe who is chairing our movement today and who succeeded in leading the heroic Zimbabwean people on the road to victory and independence through the continuous struggle and huge sacrifices which the friendly, struggling Zimbabwean people made in confronting the ferocity, oppression, and terrorism of the settling imperialism from which Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean suffered for 3 decades. I am also delighted to convey to you leaders and presidents, the greetings and appreciation of our Palestinian people and the appreciation of the PLO and its wishes that this conference be successful.

The convocation of this conference on this important occasion and in Zimbabwe — this friendly, struggling African country — is firm evidence of the liveliness of the Nonaligned Movement, which was founded by great leaders who have historic perspicacity. That is why while we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the establishment of our movement, the Nonaligned Movement, we remember at these historic moments the great leaders who sacrificed their lives for the future of their peoples and the peoples of the world, who exerted their utmost to establish our movement in order to ensure the victory of our struggling peoples against imperialism and colonialism, and who breathed life in Bandung to attain national freedom and independence among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We remember Josip Broz Tito, Jawaharlal Nehru, Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Secou Toure, Ahmed Sukarno, Indira Gandhi, and Makarios. I also greet a number of great leaders whose presence, wisdom, and experience we miss in this meeting. I would like to